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Professor Bache,
with Mr. Winthrop's
best respects.

MR. WINTHROP'S ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

AN

A D D R E S S

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT

BOWDOIN COLLEGE,

ON THE AFTERNOON OF THE ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT,

SEPTEMBER 5, 1849.

BY ROBERT C. WINTHROP.



BOSTON:

TICKNOR, REED, AND FIELDS.

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At a meeting of the Maine Historical Society, holden on Commencement day, at Bowdoin College, in Brunswick, September 5, 1849,

Voted,—That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, for the very appropriate and valuable discourse pronounced by him before the Society this day, commemorating the history and virtues of his worthy ancestors of the Bowdoin family, and embracing a just tribute to the honored patron of Bowdoin College ;— and that a copy be requested for the press.

A true copy.

Attest.

WILLIAM WILLIS, Recording Secretary.

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B O S T O N :

THURSTON, TORRY AND COMPANY,
31 Devonshire Street.

ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN
OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

I AM here, as you are aware, and as I trust this crowded and brilliant assembly is aware, for no purpose of literary discussion, philosophical speculation, or oratorical display. The character of the occasion would alone have pointed me to a widely different line of remark, and would, indeed, have imperatively claimed of me some more substantial contribution to the objects for which you are associated. But your committee of invitation have kindly relieved me from the responsibility of selecting a topic from the wide field of American history, and have afforded me a most agreeable and welcome opportunity of fulfilling a long cherished intention. They have called upon me, as one likely to have more than ordinary materials for such a work, as well as likely to take a more than ordinary interest in its performance, to give some ampler account than has ever yet been supplied, of a Family, which, while it may fairly claim a place in the history of the nation, as having furnished one

of the most distinguished of our revolutionary statesmen and patriots, has been more directly identified, both by its earliest adventures and by its latest acts, with the history of Maine ; — of Maine, both as it once was, — an honored and cherished part of the good old Commonwealth of Massachusetts, — and as it now is, — a proud, prosperous, and independent State.

In preparing myself to comply with this call, I have felt bound to abandon all ideas of ambitious rhetoric, to forego all custom of declamation, to clip the wings of any little fancy which I might possess, and to betake myself to a diligent examination of such private papers and public records as might promise to throw light upon my subject. I come now, gentlemen, to lay before you, in the simplest manner, the fruits of my research.

I hold in my hand an original manuscript in the French language, which, being interpreted, is as follows :

“ To his Excellency, the Governor-in-Chief of New England, humbly prays Pierre Baudouin, saying : that having been obliged, by the rigors which were exercised towards the Protestants in France, to depart thence with his family, and having sought refuge in the realm of Ireland, at the City of Dublin, to which place it pleased the Receivers of His Majesty’s Customs to admit him, your petitioner was employed in one of the bureaux ; but afterwards, there being a change of officers, he was left without any employment. This was what caused the petitioner and his family, to the number of six persons, to withdraw into this territory, in the town of Casco, and Province of Maine ; and seeing that there are many lands which are not occupied, and particularly those which are situated at the point of Barbary Creek, may it please your Excellency to decree that there may be assigned to your petitioner about one hundred acres, to the end that he may have the means of

supporting his family. And he will continue to pray God for the health and prosperity of your Excellency.

“PIERRE BAUDOUIN.”

Such was the first introduction into New England of a name which was destined to be connected with not a few of the most important events of its subsequent history, and which is now indissolubly associated with more than one of its most cherished institutions of education, literature, and science.

Driven out from his home and native land by the fury of that religious persecution, for which Louis XIV. gave the signal by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, — disappointed in his attempt to secure the means of an humble support in Ireland, whither he had at first fled, — Pierre Baudouin, in the summer of 1687, presents himself as a suppliant to Sir Edmund Andros, then Governor-in-Chief of New England, for a hundred acres of unoccupied land at the point of Barbary Creek in Casco Bay, in the Province of Maine, that he may earn bread for himself and his family by the sweat of his brow.

He was one of that noble sect of Huguenots, of which John Calvin may be regarded as the great founder and exemplar, — of which Gaspard de Coligny, the generous and gallant admiral, who “filled the kingdom of France with the glory and terror of his name for the space of twelve years,” was one of the most devoted disciples and one of the most lamented martyrs, — and which has furnished to our own land blood every way worthy of being mingled with the best that has ever flowed in the veins either of southern Cavalier or northern Puritan.

He was of that same noble stock which gave three Presidents out of nine to the old Congress of the Confederation ; which gave her Laurenses and Marions, her Hugers and Manigaults, her Prioleaus and Gaillards and Legarés to South Carolina ; which gave her Jays to New York, her Boudinots to New Jersey, her Brimmers, her Dexters, and her Peter Faneuil, with the Cradle of Liberty, to Massachusetts.

He came from the famous town of Rochelle, which was for so many years the very stronghold and rallying point of Protestantism in France, and which, in 1629, held out so long and so heroically against the siege, which Richelieu himself thought it no shame to conduct in person.

He is said to have been a physician by profession. The mere internal evidence of the paper which I have produced, though the idiom may not be altogether of the latest Parisian, shows him to have been a man of education. While, without insisting on tracing back his pedigree, as others have done, either to Baldwin, Count of Flanders in 862, or to Baldwin the chivalrous King of Jerusalem in 1143, both of whom, it seems, spelled their names precisely as he did, there is ample testimony that he was a man both of family and fortune in his own land.

“I am the eldest descendant,” — wrote James Bowdoin, the patron of the College within whose precincts we are assembled, — “from one of those unfortunate families which was obliged to fly their native country on account of religion ; — a family, which, as I understand, lived in affluence, perhaps elegance, upon a handsome estate in the neighborhood of Rochelle,

which at that time (1685) yielded the considerable income of 700 louis d'ors per annum."

This estate was, of course, irrecoverably forfeited by his flight, and at the end of two years of painful and perilous adventure, he landed upon the shores of New England, with no other wealth but a wife and four children, and the freedom to worship God after the dictates of his own conscience.

His petition, which has no date of its own, but which is indorsed 2d August, 1687, was favorably received by Sir Edmund Andros, and the public records in the state department of Massachusetts contain a warrant, signed by Sir Edmund, and directed to Mr. Richard Clements, deputy surveyor, authorizing and requiring him to lay out one hundred acres of vacant land in Casco Bay for Pierre Baudouin, in such place as he should be directed by Edward Tyng, Esq., one of his majesty's council. The warrant bears date Oct. 8, 1687.

Before this warrant was executed, however, Pierre Baudouin had obtained possession of a few acres of land on what is now the high road from Portland to Vaughan's Bridge, a few rods northerly of the house of the Hon. Nicholas Emery. A solitary apple-tree, and a few rocks which apparently formed the curbing of a well, were all that remained about twenty years ago, to mark the site of this original dwelling-place of the Bowdoin in America. I know not whether even these could now be found.

In this original dwelling-place, Pierre and his family remained only about two years and a half. He had probably heard of the successful establishment in

Boston, a year or two previously, of a Protestant church by some of his fellow fugitives from France. He is likely to have been still more strongly prompted to an early abandonment of this residence, by its extreme exposure to the hostile incursions and depredations of the French and Indians, who were leagued together, at this time, in an attempt to break up the British settlements on this part of the North American continent. And most narrowly, and most providentially, did he escape this peril. On the 17th of May, 1690, the fort at Casco was attacked and destroyed, and a general massacre of the settlers was perpetrated by the Indians. On the 16th, just twenty-four hours previously, Pierre Baudouin and his family had plucked up their stakes and departed for Boston. A race which had survived the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's, and the siege of Rochelle, was not destined to perish thus ignobly in the wilderness!

Pierre himself, however, lived but a short time after his arrival at Boston, and his eldest son, James, was left at the age of seventeen years, with the charge of maintaining a mother, a younger brother, and two sisters, in a strange land.

The energy, perseverance, and success with which this trying responsibility was met and was discharged by James Bowdoin, (the first of that name in America,) is sufficiently attested by the fact, that he soon rose to the very first rank among the merchants of Boston, that he was chosen a member of the Colonial Council for several years before his death, and that he left to his children, as the fruit of a long life of industry and integrity, the greatest estate which had ever

been possessed, at that day, by any one person in Massachusetts; an estate which I have seen estimated at from fifty to one hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Of the two sons, who succeeded equally to the largest part of this estate, James Bowdoin, who will form the principal subject of this discourse, was the youngest.

He was born in Boston on the 7th of August, 1726, and after receiving the rudiments of his education at the South Grammar School of that town, under Master Lovell, he was sent to Harvard College, where he was graduated a Bachelor of Arts in 1745. The death of his father occurred about two years later, and he was thus left with an independent estate just as he had attained to his majority.

It is hardly to be presumed that a young man of twenty-one years of age, of a liberal education, and an ample fortune, would devote himself at once and exclusively to mere mercantile pursuits. Nor am I inclined to believe that he ever gave much practical attention to them. But the earliest letter directed to him, which I find among the family papers, proves that he must have been, at least nominally, engaged in commercial business. It is directed to "Mr. James Bowdoin, Merchant."

This letter, however, has a far higher interest than as merely designating an address. It is dated Philadelphia, Oct. 25, 1750, and is in the following words:

"Sir, — Enclosed with this I send you all my Electrical papers fairly transcribed, and I have, as you desired, examined the copy, and find it correct. I shall be glad to have your observations on

them ; and if in any part I have not made myself well understood, I will on notice endeavor to explain the obscure passages by letter.

“My compliments to Mr. Cooper and the other gentleman who were with you here. I hope you all got safe home.

“I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

“B. FRANKLIN.”

The young Bowdoin, it seems, — who at the date of this letter was but four and twenty years old, — had made a journey to Philadelphia, (a journey at that day almost equal to a voyage to London at this,) in company with his friend and pastor, the Reverend Samuel Cooper, afterwards the celebrated Dr. Cooper of Brattle Street Church, — and having there sought the acquaintance of Dr. Franklin, had so impressed himself upon his regard and respect, that Franklin, in transmitting to him his electrical papers, takes occasion to invite his observations upon them.

Franklin was then at the age of forty-four years, and in the very maturity of his powers. Although he was at this time holding an office connected with the post-office department of the Colonies, as the frank on the cover of this letter indicates, he was already deeply engaged in those great philosophical inquiries and experiments which were soon to place him on the highest pinnacle of fame.

The acquaintance between Franklin and Bowdoin, which had thus been formed at Philadelphia, was rapidly ripened into a most intimate and enduring friendship ; and with this letter commenced a correspondence which terminated only with their lives.

At the outset of this correspondence, Bowdoin appears to have availed himself of the invitation to make observations on Franklin's theories and specula-

tions, with somewhat more of independence of opinion than might have been expected from the disparity of their ages. One of his earliest letters (21st Dec. 1751) suggested such forcible objections to the hypothesis, that the sea was the grand source of electricity, that Franklin was led to say in his reply, (24th January, 1752,) — “I grow more doubtful of my former supposition, and more ready to allow weight to that objection, (drawn from the activity of the electric fluid and the readiness of water to conduct,) which you have indeed stated with great strength and clearness.” In the following year Franklin retracted this hypothesis altogether. The same letter of Bowdoin’s contained an elaborate explication of the cause of the crooked direction of lightning, which Franklin pronounced, in his reply, to be “both ingenious and solid,” — adding, “when we can account as satisfactorily for the electrification of clouds, I think that branch of natural philosophy will be nearly complete.”

In a subsequent letter, Bowdoin suggested a theory in regard to the luminousness of water under certain circumstances, ascribing it to the presence of minute phosphorescent animals, of which Franklin said, in his reply, (13th Dec. 1753,) — “The observations you made of the sea water emitting more or less light in different tracts passed through by your boat, is new, and your mode of accounting for it ingenious. It is, indeed, very possible, that an extremely small animalcule, too small to be visible even by our best glasses, may yet give a visible light.” This theory has since been very generally received.

Franklin soon after paid our young philosopher the

more substantial and unequivocal compliment of sending his letters to London, where they were read at the Royal Society, and published in a volume with his own. The Royal Society, at a later day, made Bowdoin one of their fellows; and Franklin writing to Bowdoin from London, Jan. 13, 1772, says: "It gives me great pleasure that my book afforded any to my friends. I esteem those letters of yours among its brightest ornaments, and have the satisfaction to find that they add greatly to the reputation of American philosophy."

But the sympathies of Franklin and Bowdoin were not destined to be long confined to philosophical inquiries. There were other clouds than those of the sky, gathering thickly and darkly around them, and which were about to require another and more practical sort of science, to break their force and rob them of their fires. "*Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis*" is the proud motto upon one of the medals which were struck in honor of Franklin. Bowdoin, we shall see, was one of his counsellors and coadjutors in both the processes which secured for him this enviable ascription.

Bowdoin entered into political life in the year 1753, as one of the four representatives of Boston, in the Provincial Legislature of Massachusetts, and remained a member of the House for three years, having been re-elected by the same constituency in 1754 and 1755.

The American Colonies were, at this moment, mainly engaged in resisting the encroachments of the French upon their boundaries. The Colony of Massachusetts Bay devoted itself, with especial zeal, to this object.

It was said, and truly said, by their Councillors in 1755, in an answer to one of Governor Shirley's Messages, "that since the peace of Aix la Chapelle (1748), we have been at more expense for preventing and removing the French encroachments, we do not say than any other Colony, but than all His Majesty's Colonies besides."

Bowdoin appears from the journals to have co-operated cordially in making provision for the expeditions to Nova Scotia and Crown Point, and in all the military measures of defence. He seems, however, to have been more particularly interested in promoting that great civil or political measure of safety and security which was so seriously agitated at this time, — *the Union of the Colonies*.

In June, 1754, a convention of delegates from the various Colonies was held at Albany, under royal authority and recommendation, to consider a plan of uniting the Colonies in measures for their general defence. Of this convention, Franklin was a member, and a plan of general union, known afterwards as the Albany plan of union, but of which he was the projector and proposer, was conditionally adopted by the unanimous vote of the delegates. The condition was, that it should be confirmed by the various Colonial Assemblies.

In December, 1754, the measure was largely debated in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and on the 14th day of that month, the House came to a vote on the three following questions:

1. "Whether the House accept of the general plan of union as reported by the commissioners convened

at Albany in June last." This was decided in the negative.

2. "Whether the House accept of the partial plan of union reported by the last committee of both Houses, appointed on the Union." This, also, was decided in the negative.

3. "Whether it be the mind of the House, that there be a General Union of his Majesty's Colonies on this Continent, except those of Nova Scotia and Georgia." This proposition was decided in the affirmative by a large majority.

The proceedings of the legislative bodies of the Colonies, and indeed of all other legislative bodies, wherever they existed throughout the world, were at that time conducted in secrecy. As late as 1776, Congress discussed every thing with closed doors, and we are indebted to Mr. Jefferson's Notes for all that we know of the debates on the Declaration of Independence. Even to this day, there is no authority for the admission either of reporters or listeners to the halls of the British parliament. A single member may demand, at any moment, that the galleries be cleared, and may insist on the execution of the demand. Practically, however, the proceedings of parliament and of almost all other legislative bodies are now public, and no one can over-estimate the importance of the change.

Doubtless, when debates were conducted with closed doors, there were no speeches for *Buncombe*, no clap-traps for the galleries, no flourishes for the ladies, and it required no hour-rule, perhaps, to keep men within some bounds of relevancy. But one of the great

sources of instruction and information, in regard both to the general measures of government, and to the particular conduct of their own representatives, was then shut out from the people, and words which might have roused them to the vindication of justice or to the overthrow of tyranny were lost in the utterance. The perfect publicity of legislative proceedings is hardly second to the freedom of the press, in its influence upon the progress and perpetuity of human liberty, though, like the freedom of the press, it may be attended with inconveniences and abuses.

It is a most significant fact in this connection, that the earliest instance of authorized publicity being given to the deliberations of a legislative body in modern days, was in this same House of Representatives of Massachusetts, on the 3d day of June, 1766, when, upon motion of James Otis, and during the debates which arose on the questions of the repeal of the stamp act, and of compensation to the sufferers by the riots in Boston, to which that act had given occasion, a resolution was carried "for opening a gallery for such as wished to hear the debates." The influence of this measure in preparing the public mind for the great revolutionary events which were soon to follow, can hardly be exaggerated.

Of the debates in 1754 on the union of the Colonies, we, of course, have no record. But I find among the family papers, a brief and imperfect memorandum, in his own hand-writing, of a speech made by Bowdoin on this occasion.

"It seems to be generally allowed (said he) that an union of some sort is necessary. If that be granted,

the only question to be considered is, whether the union shall be general or partial. It has been my opinion, and still is, that a general union would be most salutary. If the Colonies were united, they could easily drive the French out of this part of America ; but, in a disunited state, the French, though not a tenth part so numerous, are an overmatch for them all. They are under one head and one direction, and all pull one way ; whereas the Colonies have no head, some of them are under no direction in military matters, and all pull different ways. JOIN OR DIE, must be their motto."

After alluding to the importance of a union in reference to the Indian trade, he goes on to say, that "another advantage of a general union is, that the French Cape Breton trade would be put an end to."

"This trade (he continued) has been long complained of, not only as detrimental to our own trade, but as the French have, by means thereof, been furnished with provisions of all kinds, not only for themselves at Louisburg, but for Canada and the forces which they have employed on the Ohio. The flour they had there was marked with the Philadelphia and New York brand. They are supplied from the Colonies with the means of effecting their destruction ; and their destruction will be the consequence of that trade, unless it be stopped. *And it must be stopped by being subjected to the regulations of a general union.*"

Thus early did Bowdoin suggest and advocate that great idea of a general union of the Colonies for the regulation of trade, which we shall find him, almost

half a century afterwards, in no small degree instrumental in accomplishing and realizing through the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

The prominent part which he took, in 1754, in favor of the measure, is proved by the fact, that immediately after the adoption of the proposition which I have stated, he was made the chairman of a committee of seven, on the part of the House, with such as the Council might join, "to consider and report a general plan of union of the several Colonies on this continent, except those of Nova Scotia and Georgia."

It appears that this committee agreed upon such a plan, and that it was adopted by the Council. On being brought down to the House, however, its consideration was deferred, to allow time for members to consult their constituents, and a motion to print it was negatived. It was never again taken up, and I know not that any copy of it remains. Greater dangers, and from a more formidable source, were needed, to impress upon the Colonies the vital importance of that Union, without which their liberties and independence never could have been achieved. Nor were such greater dangers distant.

In May, 1757, after an interval of a single year from the termination of his three years' service in the House of Representatives, Bowdoin was elected by that body a member of the Council.

The Council of that day was not a mere Executive Council, like that which exists under the present Constitution of Massachusetts, but was a coördinate and independent branch of the Colonial Legislature. It was composed of twenty-eight members, a larger

number than the Senate of the United States contained at the adoption of the Constitution, and was in almost every respect analogous to the Senates of our own day. To this body Bowdoin was annually re-elected, from 1757 to 1774, and he actually served as a member of it, with what zeal and ability we shall presently see, during sixteen of these seventeen successive years.

It would not be easy to overstate the importance to the ultimate success of American liberty and independence, of the course pursued by the Council and House of Representatives of Massachusetts during the greater part of this long period. Even as early as 1757, a controversy sprang up between these bodies and Lord Loudoun, the British commander-in-chief, in regard to quartering and billeting his troops upon the citizens of Boston, which by no means faintly foreshadowed the great disputes which were to follow. In this controversy, the authority of an act of Parliament in the colony was boldly, and, it is believed, for the first time in our history, denied, and an earnest protestation was made that the colonists were entitled to all the rights and privileges of Englishmen.

The provincial governor of that period, however, — Thomas Pownall, — was too moderate and too liberal in his administration, and was, moreover, too deeply interested in the prosecution of those glorious campaigns of Wolfe and Amherst, in which Massachusetts, — and Maine, as a part of Massachusetts, — had so large and honorable a share, and by which the French power on this continent was finally extinguished, to provoke any serious breach between himself and the Legislative Assemblies.

But Sir Francis Bernard, his successor, was another sort of person, and from his accession in 1760, down to the very day on which the last British governor was finally driven from our shores, there was one continued conflict between the legislative and executive authorities.

Governor Bernard, in his very first speech to the Assembly, gave a clue to his whole political character and course, by alluding to the blessings which the Colonies derived "from their *subjection* to Great Britain;" and the Council, in their reply to this speech, furnished a no less distinct indication of the spirit with which they were animated, by acknowledging how much they owed "to their *relation* to Great Britain."

Indeed, if any one would fully understand the rise and progress of revolutionary principles on this continent; if he would understand the arbitrary and tyrannical doctrines which were asserted by the British Ministry, and the prompt resistance and powerful refutation which they met at the hands of our New England patriots, he must read what are called "The Massachusetts State Papers," consisting, mainly, of the messages of the Governor to the Legislature, and the answers of the two branches of the Legislature to the Governor, during this period. He will find here almost all the great principles and questions of that momentous controversy, Trial by Jury, Regulation of Trade, Taxation without Representation, the Stamp Act, the Tea Tax, and the rest, stated and argued with unsurpassed ability and spirit. It was by these State Papers, more, perhaps, than by any

thing else, that the people of that day were instructed as to the great rights and interests which were at stake, and the popular heart originally and gradually prepared for the great issue of Independence. If James Otis's argument against Writs of Assistance in 1761, (as was said by John Adams,) "breathed into this nation the breath of life," few things, if any thing, did more to prolong that breath, and sustain that life through the trying period of the nation's infancy, until it was able to *go alone*, than the answers of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts to the insolent assumptions of Bernard and Hutchinson, mainly drafted by the same James Otis and Samuel Adams, and the answers of the Council, mainly drafted by *James Bowdoin*.

Of the first-rate part which Bowdoin played, during his long service in the Council, we have the fullest testimony from the most unquestionable sources.

Governor Hutchinson, who was himself a principal actor in the scenes which he describes, and who will not be suspected of any undue partiality to Bowdoin, furnishes unequivocal testimony as to his course.

"In most of the addresses, votes, and other proceedings in Council, of importance, for several years past, (says he in the third volume of his History of Massachusetts, at the commencement of the year 1766,) the Lieutenant Governor, (Hutchinson himself) had been employed as the chairman of the committees. Mr. Bowdoin succeeded him, and obtained a greater influence over the Council than his predecessor ever had; and being united in principle with the leading men in the House, measures were concerted between him and

them, and from this time the Council, in matters which concerned the controversy between the Parliament, and the Colonies, in scarcely any instance disagreed with the House."

Again, under date of 1770, Hutchinson says, "Bowdoin was *without a rival in the Council*, and by the harmony and reciprocal communications between him and Mr. S. Adams, the measures of Council and House harmonized also, and were made reciprocally subservient each to the other; so that when the Governor met with opposition from the one, he had reason to expect like opposition from the other."

Hutchinson also states, under the same date, that "Bowdoin greatly encouraged, if he did not first propose, (as a measure of retaliation for the arbitrary taxes imposed by Great Britain,) the association for leaving off the custom of mourning dress, for the loss of deceased friends; and *for wearing, on all occasions, the common manufactures of the Country.*"

Nor are these unequivocal expressions in the published history of Hutchinson, the only testimony which has been borne to Bowdoin's influence in the Council and in the Commonwealth.

Alexander Wedderburn, (afterwards Lord Loughborough,) in his infamous philippic upon Dr. Franklin, before the Privy Council in England, styled Bowdoin "the leader and manager of the Council in Massachusetts, as Mr. Adams was in the House."

Sir Francis Bernard, in a private letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, then secretary of the Colonies, dated 30th November, 1768, held up Mr. Bowdoin to the censure of the Ministry, "as having all along taken

the lead of the Council in their late extraordinary proceedings," and, in another letter, as "the perpetual president, chairman, secretary, and speaker of the Council;" and Sir Francis gave a practical demonstration of the sense which he entertained of Bowdoin's importance to the popular party, by negativizing him as a Councillor at the next annual election. To this most honorable proscription, by the most tyrannical Governor who ever administered the affairs of Massachusetts, Bowdoin owed that single year of intermission in his labors at the Council Board, to which I have heretofore alluded.

But the people of Boston were not in a mood to be thus deprived of the patriotic services of a long-trying and favorite servant, and, James Otis having at this moment withdrawn from public duty, Bowdoin was immediately chosen, in his place, a representative of Boston. No sooner, however, had he taken his seat again in this body, than the House, animated by the same spirit with the people of Boston, re-elected him to the Council, and Sir Francis Bernard, having in the mean time been recalled, Bowdoin's election was assented to by Governor Hutchinson upon grounds even more complimentary to his ability, and not less so to his patriotism, than those upon which he had been negativized by Sir Francis, — "because he thought his influence more prejudicial in the House of Representatives than at the Council." It was as the successor of Bowdoin, on this occasion, that John Adams first took his seat in the Legislature of Massachusetts.

Hutchinson's reason for assenting to Bowdoin's re-election to the Council, is given with something

more of circumstance and amplification, in one of his private letters to the Ministry a year or two afterwards. In April, 1772, he wrote as follows: "Mr. Hancock moved in the House to address the Governor to carry the Court to Boston, and to assign no reason except the convenience of sitting there, but this was opposed by his colleague Adams, and carried against the motion by three or four voices only. The same motion was made in Council, but opposed by Mr. Bowdoin, who is, and has been for several years, the principal supporter of the opposition to the government. *It would be to no purpose to negative him, for he would be chose into the House, and do more mischief there than at the Board.*"

It seems, however, that this reasoning was not altogether satisfactory to the ministers of the Crown, or to the Crown itself, as in 1774 Bowdoin was again negatived by General Gage, who had succeeded Hutchinson as Governor, and who declared "that he had express orders from his Majesty to set aside from that board Hon. Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. Dexter, and Mr. Winthrop."

Thus terminated the services of James Bowdoin in his Majesty's Council, and within a few months afterwards his Majesty's Council itself was swept out of existence within the limits of Massachusetts.

The 17th of June, 1774, was no unfit precursor of the 17th of June, 1775. If the latter was the date of the first great physical contest for liberty, the former was the date of one of the earliest civil acts of revolution. The House of Representatives of Massachusetts

then assembled at Salem, having come to a rupture with Governor Gage, and foreseeing that they should be immediately dissolved, ordered the door of their chamber to be locked, and having effectually barred out the Governor's secretary, proceeded, while he was actually reading the promulgation for their dissolution on the staircase, to do two most important and significant things: the one, to provide for holding a Provincial Congress to supply the place of the General Court of the Commonwealth; the other, to elect delegates to the first Continental Congress at Philadelphia. At the head of these delegates stood the name of *James Bowdoin*. The others were Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine.

Had the condition of Bowdoin's family allowed him to proceed to Philadelphia, agreeably to this appointment, there can hardly be a doubt that his name would now be found where all the world might read it, foremost on the roll of Independence; but the illness of his wife compelled him to stay at home, and that proud distinction was reserved for the name of John Hancock, who was elected as his substitute. The spirit by which he was actuated at this time, is abundantly indicated by a letter which he wrote to his friend Franklin in London, on the 6th of September, 1774, just after the first Congress had assembled, and which was mainly written as an introduction of Josiah Quincy, Jr., then vainly seeking a restoration of his health by a foreign voyage.

“Six regiments (says he) are now here, and General Gage, it is said, has sent for two or three from Canada, and expects soon two more from Ireland. Whether

he will think these, or a much greater number added to them, sufficient to enforce submission to the act, (for reducing the province to a military government), his letters to the Ministry will inform them, and time, every body else. *In apricum proferet ætas*. A sort of enthusiasm seems universally prevalent, and it has been greatly heightened by the Canada act for the encouraging and establishing Popery. "*Pro aris et focis*, our all is at stake," is the general cry throughout the country. Of this I have been in some measure a witness, having these two months past been journeying about the Province with Mrs. Bowdoin, on account of her health; the bad state of which has prevented my attending the Congress, for which the Assembly thought proper to appoint me one of their committee."

Mr. Bowdoin's own health, also, about this time, gave way, and soon after assumed a most serious aspect. In a letter to John Adams from his wife, bearing date June 15th, 1775, and which is among the letters of Mrs. Adams recently published by her grandson, I find the following passage: "Mr. Bowdoin and his lady are at present in the house of Mrs. Borland, and are going to Middleborough, to the house of Judge Oliver. He, poor gentleman, is so low, that I apprehend he is hastening to a house not made with hands; he looks like a mere skeleton, speaks faint and low, is racked with a violent cough, and, I think, far advanced in consumption. I went to see him last Saturday. He is very inquisitive of every person with regard to the times; begged I would let him know of the first intelligence I had from you; is very unable

to converse by reason of his cough. He rides every pleasant day, and has been kind enough to call at the door (though unable to get out) several times. He says the very name of Hutchinson distresses him. Speaking of him the other day, he broke out, 'Religious rascal! how I abhor his name!'

I am the more particular in giving these contemporaneous accounts of the circumstances which prevented Bowdoin from taking his seat in the Continental Congress, because, in the violence of partisan warfare afterwards, his patriotism was impeached on this ground. As well might the patriotism of James Otis be impeached, because the blows of assassins upon his brain, unsettling his reason, compelled him also to retire, at this moment, from the service of the country, and to leave others to reap a harvest of glory which he had sown! As well might the patriotism of Josiah Quincy, Jr. be impeached, because consumption, at this moment, had marked him for its prey, and he, too, was forced to fly to milder climes, from which he only returned to expire within sight of his native shores!

The services of Bowdoin, however, were not yet destined to be lost to Massachusetts or to the country. Momentous responsibilities still awaited him, and the partial restoration of his health soon enabled him to meet them.

Indeed, while his health was still failing, he served as moderator of a great meeting of the people of Boston, in Faneuil Hall, which was held to consider the demand which had been made upon them by General Gage, for the surrender of their arms. The meeting was one of the greatest interest and excitement, and

was protracted through many days. Bowdoin, at the close of it, acted as chairman of the committee to remonstrate and treat with General Gage upon the subject, and I now have in my hand the evidence of his success, in an original paper, which is not without historical interest, dated Boston, April 27, 1775, in the following terms:

“General Gage gives liberty to the inhabitants to remove out of town with their effects, and, in order to expedite said removal, informs the inhabitants that they may receive passes for that purpose from General Robinson, any time after 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.”

Such was the only *liberty* which the people of Boston could, in that day, extort from the British commander-in-chief, — *liberty* to abandon their homes and firesides, and to seek shelter where they could find it! Even this, however, was a great point gained, and was far better than being exposed to the daily insults and depredations of a hireling soldiery. I have it under his own hand, that it was by his attention to this business, while already an invalid, that Bowdoin contracted the serious illness described by Mrs. Adams, by reason of which his life was at one time despaired of.

In August of this same year, 1775, a Provincial Congress assembled at Watertown, and proceeded, under the recommendation of the Continental Congress, to organize the first regular Government, by electing twenty-eight Councillors, not only to act as a branch of the legislative body, but to exercise the supreme executive authority of the province. Bowdoin was elected first on the list, and on the meeting

of the Board was formally placed at its head, so that he should act as President of the Council whenever he was present. Though his health was still infirm, he instantly accepted the appointment, and soon repaired to his post, and in that capacity he presided, from time to time for several years, over the now independent Republic. "This conspicuous act of *overt* treason," (as it was well termed by one who knew the meaning of the terms which he used,—Bowdoin's distinguished eulogist, Judge Lowell,) this conspicuous act of overt treason to the British monarch, whose Ministry were still exercising "the pageantry of civil government within the province," and whose armies held possession of the capital almost within sight, furnishes ample evidence that Bowdoin shrank from no exposure to personal proscription or peril.

George Washington had just then assumed the command of the American army, encamped around Boston. Bowdoin's official position brought him, of course, into immediate relation to the commander-in-chief, and an intimate and enduring friendship was soon formed between them. Many letters of a highly confidential character, and a beautiful cane, now in my own possession, which was the gift of Bowdoin to Washington, and which was returned, as a precious memorial to the family, by Mrs. Washington, after her husband's death, bear witness to the cordial regard which they cherished for each other.

In the autumn of 1775, the Continental Congress despatched a special committee of its members to Cambridge, to confer with Washington and the authorities of the New England States, as to the best

means of conducting the campaign. Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Harrison, (the father of the late lamented President of the United States,) were two of the committee of Congress. Bowdoin was the chairman of the committee to conduct the conference on the part of Massachusetts; and by them it was agreed that an army of twenty-four thousand men should be raised for the ensuing year, and that the several Colonies should be called on for their respective proportions of money to meet the expenses of supporting them.

It was about this time that Washington said to some timid Whigs in Massachusetts, "You need not fear, when you have a Bowdoin at your head."

It was through the confidential agency of Bowdoin, some years afterwards, in 1780, that Washington procured a plan of the harbor of Halifax, with the depth of the water, and the position of all the military works, with a view to its destruction by the French fleet.

Nor may it be uninteresting, or out of place, to mention here, that on the night on which Washington threw up the redoubts on Dorchester Heights, which compelled the British army to evacuate Boston on the seventeenth of March, he was accompanied by Bowdoin's son, James, (afterwards the patron of the College,) a young man then of twenty-two years of age, who, after being graduated at Harvard, had gone over to England, partly on account of his health, and partly to pursue his studies at the University of Oxford, but who had hurried back to share the fortunes of his native land instantly on the breaking out of hostilities.

The young Bowdoin also crossed over in the same boat with Washington on his entrance into Boston, after the departure of the British, and took him to dine at his grandfather Erving's, where, we are told, the greatest delicacy the town afforded "was only a piece of salted beef."

Mr. Bowdoin, the father, was re-elected to the Council in 1776 and 1777, and continued to serve as its presiding officer, whenever his health permitted him to attend its meetings, until the summer of 1777, when he resigned.

In 1776, on the receipt of the news of the Declaration of Independence, he was made chairman of the committee to direct and personally superintend its proclamation from the balcony of the Old State House in Boston. He was, also, the chairman of the committee to conduct the affairs of the Commonwealth, during the recess of the General Court.

In 1779, Bowdoin was brought back again into the public service, by being elected a delegate from the town of Boston to the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts. One attempt to accomplish this work had already been made by the Legislature during the previous year, but the plan had been rejected by the people. The greatest minds of the Commonwealth were now called together to repair the failure. Samuel Adams and John Adams, Hancock, the elder John Lowell, Theophilus Parsons, the elder John Pickering, George Cabot, Nathaniel Gorham, James Sullivan, the elder Levi Lincoln, Robert Treat Paine, Jonathan Jackson, Henry Higginson, Nathaniel Tracy, Samuel Osgood, William

Cushing, and Caleb Strong, were among the members of this Convention. Your own Province of Maine was represented, among others, by David Sewall and Benjamin Chadbourne. Well might it be said that "to this Convention were returned from all parts of the Commonwealth, as great a number of men of learning, talents and patriotism, as had ever been assembled here at any earlier period." It may be doubted, whether any later period has ever witnessed its equal. Of this Convention, Bowdoin was the President.

His position as presiding officer, however, did not exempt him from the more active duties of membership, and, during the long recess of the Convention, he served as chairman of the select committee, by which the original draft of the Constitution was digested and prepared. His friend and eulogist, Judge Lowell, who was himself second to no one in that Convention, either for the zeal or the ability which he brought to the work, says of Bowdoin, that "it is owing to the hints which he occasionally gave, and the part which he took with the committee who framed the plan, that some of the most admired sections in the Constitution of this State appear in their present form;" and he adds, "this assembly of wise men carried home with them such impressions of his character as an able and virtuous statesman, that they retained the highest respect and esteem for him till his death."

At the organization of the government of the Commonwealth under this new Constitution, John Hancock was elected to the chief magistracy. There having

been no choice of a Lieutenant Governor by the people, the Legislature, on their assembling, elected Bowdoin to that office. They, also, simultaneously elected him a Senator for the County of Suffolk, leaving it optional with himself to decide in which capacity he would serve the State, and intimating, certainly, in the most complimentary manner, their unwillingness that the State should be deprived of his services altogether. Bowdoin, however, declined both these offices, as he did, also, the appointment of agent to negotiate a loan in Europe, which, about this time, was offered to him. But in the subsequent winter he accepted an appointment from the Legislature, in company with the Justices of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General, and Mr. John Pickering, "to revise the laws in force in the State, to select, abridge, alter, and digest them, so as to be accommodated to the present Government." I have seen ample evidence, in his private papers, of the labor which he bestowed on the duties of this distinguished and most responsible commission.

In 1782, Bowdoin was chosen a representative from Boston, but declined the office.

In January, 1785, Hancock resigned his place as Chief Magistrate of Massachusetts. At the ensuing April election there was no choice by the people, but on the meeting of the Legislature in May, Bowdoin was elected Governor, by the Senate, out of the candidates sent up to that body by the House of Representatives.

It was during the popular canvass preceding this election, that a charge was brought against Bowdoin

that he was in British interest and under British influence. In these latter days, such a charge, against whomsoever it were arrayed, could excite little surprise. It is the penalty of modern public life, to be abused. Not to be the subject of some false report, of some slanderous charge, of some calumnious imputation, would seem almost to imply that one was too insignificant to attract notice. So uniformly does abuse or misrepresentation follow any considerable fame, that a public man is almost tempted to exclaim in the words of an old ballad, —

“ Liars will lee on full guid men
 Sae will they do on me ;
 I wad’na wish to be the man,
 That liars on wad’na lee.”

But that one who had been so early and ardent an opposer of British oppression and British dominion, and who, as we have seen, had co-operated personally and prominently in almost all the measures by which that aggression had been successfully resisted, and that dominion finally thrown off, should now so soon have been subjected to such an imputation upon his patriotism, and such an impeachment of his integrity, must certainly astonish every one who has not become familiar with the habitual disingenuousness and unscrupulousness of modern partisan warfare.

The only points relied upon to give color to this infamous accusation were, first, Bowdoin’s failure to attend the Continental Congress in 1774, when, as we have sufficiently seen, the illness of his wife, and the critical condition of his own health, detained him at

home; and, second, the marriage of Bowdoin's only daughter with Sir John Temple.

The late estimable and distinguished author of the "Familiar Sketches of Public Characters," which are believed to be generally as correct, as they certainly are spirited and interesting, says that Bowdoin was suspected of English partialities, "because an Englishman who bore a title had become his son-in-law."

Now the fact is, that John Temple was a Boston boy, born at Noddle's Island, now East Boston, of parents who had long resided in this country, and that he did not inherit his baronetcy from his great grandfather until nearly eighteen months after this election was over. He had been, moreover, a thorough Whig during the whole of our Revolution, and had paid the penalty of his opposition to the British Ministry by the loss of more than one office, of which the emoluments were in the last degree necessary to his support. It was of Temple that Arthur Lee, then in London, wrote to Samuel Adams, Dec. 22, 1773, "There is no man more obnoxious to Hillsborough, Bernard, Knox, and all that tribe of determined enemies to truth, to virtue, liberty, and America."

It is, indeed, not a little curious, that, while in 1785, Bowdoin was charged with being in British interest, on account of his connection with Temple, in 1770, Bowdoin's original opposition to Great Britain was attributed to the very same cause. "During the administration of Shirley and Pownall, (says Governor Hutchinson in his third volume,) Bowdoin was considered rather as a favorer of the prerogative, than of the opposition to it. But Mr. Temple, the Surveyor

General of the Customs, having married Mr. Bowdoin's daughter, and having differed with Governor Bernard, and connected himself with Mr. Otis and others in the opposition, Mr. Bowdoin, from that time, entered into the like connections."

Hutchinson is still more explicit upon this point in some of his private letters. In a letter to Commadore (afterwards Admiral) Gambier, dated 7th May, 1772, he says: "Of the two you mentioned, one in the Common and the other near it, (Bowdoin's elegant mansion *near* the Common is still freshly remembered,) I have found the first pliable, and have made great use of him, and expect to make more; the other is envious, and with dark, secret plottings endeavors to distress Government; and, although I am upon terms of civility with him, yet when the faction in the House have any point to carry, they are sure of his support in Council, and he is as obstinate as a mule. I do not find the advice, that his son-in-law is like to be provided for in England, has any effect upon him. If I see any chance of bringing him over, and making him a friend to Government, I will try it; in the meantime, I will bear with his opposition as I have done for several years past. This *inter nos*."

It seems thus, that Hutchinson was about to make a trial upon Bowdoin's patriotism, with a view of seeing if there was "any chance of bringing him over, and making him a friend to Government." And in a letter to Sir Francis Bernard, dated 25th August, 1772, four months afterwards, we have some glimpses of the result of the attempt.

"Before Commodore Gambier sailed, (he says,) he

hinted to me the same thing he did to you after his arrival in England. I thought it was suggested to him by —, and I took it to be only his opinion of the effect such an expectation might have, and I have no reason to think Mr. B. was privy to the suggestion. His conduct in Council is very little different from what it was in your administration, and he runs into the foolish notions of Adams & Co., and when Government is the subject, talks their jargon. On other occasions, we are just within the bounds of decency. One would have thought the unexpected favors shown to his son-in-law would have softened him. I don't know but he may have been rather more cautious in his language, but he joins in the same measures."

Bowdoin himself gave the best evidence, not many months afterwards, with what success he had been approached, and how far he had even become "more cautious in his language," in the prompt and powerful stand which he took against Hutchinson's elaborate message to the Legislature, upholding the power of Parliament over the Colonies; in regard to which, Hutchinson wrote to General Gage, on the 7th of March, 1773,—"The Council would have acquiesced, if Mr. Bowdoin had not persuaded them that he could defend Lord Chatham's doctrine, that Parliament had no right of taxation; but by his repugnant arguments he has exposed himself to contempt."

A copy of these "repugnant arguments" is in my possession, in Bowdoin's hand-writing, as they are printed among the Massachusetts State Papers; and no one can read them without feeling that, if they exposed him to the "contempt" of this pliant tool

of royalty, they have entitled him to the respect and gratitude of every American patriot. The paper is, unquestionably, among the ablest compositions to which the controversies of that day gave occasion, and was the immediate cause of Bowdoin's being negatived, at his next election to the Council, by the express order of his Majesty.

Temple, it appears, had been appointed in December, 1771, surveyor-general of the customs in England. He had been refused all further employment in America on the ground of his known attachment to the cause of his native country, the king himself having signified to Lord North that he must not be suffered to return to the colonies in any public capacity. But his zeal for the interests of the colonies could not thus be extinguished; and in 1774, he was summarily removed from office, for reasons which are set forth in a paper bearing his own signature, which was addressed to the government of Massachusetts in 1791, and which begins as follows:

“Dr. Franklin and Mr. Temple were, in the year 1774, upon one and the same day, and for one and the same cause, dismissed from the several employments they held under the crown of Great Britain; expressly for their attachment to the American cause; and particularly for their having obtained and transmitted to the State of Massachusetts, certain original letters and papers, which first discovered, with certainty, the perfidious plans then machinating against the freedom and happiness of the then Colonies, now United States in North America; Mr. Temple, by such dismissal, lost upwards of a thousand pounds sterling per annum,

besides several very honorary appointments under the crown; Dr. Franklin's loss was about five hundred pounds a year."

This distinct and public declaration during the lifetime of Franklin, corroborated as it is by a previous and private communication to John Adams, removes all doubt as to the fact, that it was through Temple's co-operation with Franklin that the famous Hutchinson letters were sent over to this country, and furnishes another proof that his employment and salaries abroad had, in no degree, diminished his interest in the cause of American Liberty.

It would be quite out of place to follow the course and character of Sir John Temple further on this occasion. I have said enough to show how utterly groundless were any imputations upon Bowdoin's patriotism, arising out of his connection with Temple. I have said enough to prove how justly it was said of Bowdoin, at his death,—“He was in every sense a patriot. He connected himself with those who were determined not to be slaves. It was in his power to have made any terms for himself, if he could have deserted his principles; but firm and incorruptible, he put every thing at hazard.”

The condition of Massachusetts and of the nation at large, when Bowdoin assumed the Chief Magistracy of the Commonwealth, (if there was any thing which could be called a nation in 1785,) was most critical. Both were overwhelmed with the debts of the revolution, and no effective system of finance had been established for their discharge. Indeed, the resources of the people were already utterly exhausted, and

a wide-spread bankruptcy seemed almost inevitable. Bowdoin, however, stood forth, in his first address to the Legislature, as the stern advocate of supporting the credit of the State at all costs, and as the uncompromising opponent of every idea of repudiation. "Lately emerged, (said he,) from a bloody and expensive war, a heavy debt upon us in consequence of it, — our finances deranged and our credit to re-establish, — it will require time to remove these difficulties. The removal of them must be effected in the same way a prudent individual, in like circumstances, would adopt; by retrenching unnecessary expenses, adopting a strict economy, providing means of lessening his debt, duly paying the interest of it, and manifesting to his creditors and the world, that in all his transactions he is guided by the principles of honor and strict honesty. In this way, and in this only, public credit can be maintained or restored; and when governments, by an undeviating adherence to these principles, shall have firmly established it, they will have the satisfaction to see that they can obtain loans in preference to all borrowers whatever."

In this same first address to the General Court, Bowdoin came forward, also, as the ardent adviser of an enlargement of the powers of the Continental Congress, with a view to the regulation of commerce with foreign nations.

"The state of our foreign trade, (said he,) which has given so general an uneasiness, and the operation of which, through the extravagant importation and use of foreign manufactures, has occasioned so large a balance against us, demands a serious consideration.

“To satisfy that balance, our money is exported; which, with all the means of remittance at present in our power, falls very short of a sufficiency.

“Those means, which have been greatly lessened by the war, are gradually enlarging; but they cannot soon increase to their former amplitude, so long as Britain and other nations continue the commercial systems they have adopted since the war. Those nations have an undoubted right to regulate their trade with us, and to admit into their ports, on their own terms, the vessels and cargoes that go from the United States, or to refuse an admittance; their own interest or their sense of it, being the only principle to dictate those regulations, where no treaty of commerce is subsisting.

“The United States have the same right, and can, and ought to regulate their foreign trade on the same principle; but it is a misfortune, that Congress have not yet been authorized for that purpose by all the States. If there be any thing wanting on the part of this State to complete that authority, it lies with you, gentlemen, to bring it forward and mature it; and, until Congress shall ordain the necessary regulations, you will please to consider what further is needful to be done on our part, to remedy the evils of which the merchant, the tradesman, and manufacturer, and indeed every other description of persons among us, so justly complain.”

“It is of great importance, (he continues,) and the happiness of the United States depends upon it, that Congress should be vested with all the powers necessary to preserve the Union, to manage the general

concerns of it, and secure and promote its common interest. That interest, so far as it is dependent on a commercial intercourse with foreign nations, the Confederation does not sufficiently provide for ; and this State, and the United States in general, are now experiencing, by the operation of their trade with some of these nations, particularly Great Britain, the want of such a provision. * * * * *

“This matter, gentlemen, merits your attention ; and if you think that Congress should be vested with ampler powers, and that special delegates from the States should be convened to settle and define them, you will take the necessary measures for obtaining such a Convention or Congress, whose agreement, when confirmed by the States, would ascertain these powers.”

Thus again did Bowdoin, in 1785, propose as the only mode of securing our national prosperity, and counteracting the pernicious effects of the restrictive policy of Great Britain, the same remedy which he had declared necessary in 1754, against the Cape Breton trade of the French — *a general union of the Colonies, with the power of regulating trade.*

His views were not now lost upon those to whom they were addressed. The Legislature of the Commonwealth cordially responded to them, and passed strong resolutions, bearing date July 1, 1785, recommending a Convention of Delegates from all the States, for the purpose of revising the articles of Confederation, and enlarging the powers of Congress. These resolutions were communicated to Congress and the several States. Virginia passed similar resolutions in

January, 1786 ; in the following September, the first meeting of delegates was held at Annapolis ; and in May, 1787, the Convention assembled at Philadelphia, by which the Constitution of the United States was finally formed.

The late Mr. Alden Bradford, whose name has so many titles to our respectful remembrance, does not hesitate to assert, in his History of Massachusetts, in view of the facts which I have stated, that Governor Bowdoin "is entitled to the honor of having first urged the enlargement of the powers of Congress for regulating commerce with foreign countries, and for raising a revenue from it to support the public credit."

I need not say how gladly I would vindicate the Bowdoin title to this distinction. He who can rightfully claim it, needs no other title to the eternal gratitude of his country. The man, upon whose tombstone it may be truly written, "It was by him that the great idea of our glorious Federal Constitution was first conceived, and first urged,"—need not envy the proudest epitaph in Westminster Abbey or the Pantheon. To him the rarely interrupted peace, the unparalleled progress and prosperity, the firm and cordial union of this mighty nation, for sixty years past, and as we hope and believe, for sixty times sixty years to come, will bear grateful testimony ! To him, the first great example of successful Constitutional Republican Government, will acknowledge a perpetual debt ! Around his memory, the hopes of civil liberty throughout the world will weave an unfading chaplet !

Such an honor, however, is too high to be lightly appropriated to any one man. I know the danger

of setting up pretensions of priority in great ideas, whether of state policy, philosophical theory, scientific discovery, or mechanical invention. It was claimed for Patrick Henry, that he was the first to exclaim, under the sting of British oppression in 1774, "We must fight;" but it has since been clearly proved, that he only echoed the exclamation of Joseph Hawley of Massachusetts, communicated to him by John Adams.

The first public proposal of a General Convention to remodel the Confederacy, has been traced by Mr. Madison to one, whose family name would thus seem to be associated both with the earliest suggestion, and with the latest and ablest defence of the Constitution, — Pelatiah WEBSTER, — a correspondent and friend of Governor Bowdoin, who brought it forward in a pamphlet published in 1781. This was followed by resolutions in favor of it, passed by the Legislature of New York, on motion of General Schuyler, in 1782. Hamilton declared himself in favor of the plan, in Congress, in 1783. Richard Henry Lee, in a letter to Mr. Madison, urged it in 1784. But no one can doubt that the earnest official recommendation of Bowdoin, and the strong resolutions of Massachusetts, (then one of the three great States of the Confederacy,) in 1785, were most important steps in this momentous Federal movement. They preceded, by more than a year, the resolutions of Virginia, to which so deserved a prominence has always been given, and they should not be suffered to be omitted, as they too often hitherto have been, from the history of the rise and progress of the Constitution of the United States.

It may be doubted, indeed, whether any one was an earlier or more intelligent advocate than Bowdoin, of the great commercial principle which the Constitution was primarily established to vindicate. The necessity of regulating the trade and navigation of the United States, with a view to counteracting the restrictive policy of Great Britain and other nations, and of protecting the industry and labor of our own people, was illustrated and enforced by him on every occasion.

Under his auspices, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed an act for this purpose on their own responsibility, to cease, of course, whenever Congress should be vested with power to take the subject under national control.

Under his advice, an act laying additional duties of import and excise was also passed by the State Legislature, in relation to which, at the subsequent session, in October, 1785, Governor Bowdoin used language in his message, which shows both the extent of his information, and the soundness of his views upon these commercial subjects:

“As one intention of the act (says he) was to encourage our own manufactures, by making such a distinction in the duties upon them and upon foreign manufactures, as to give, in regard to price, a clear preference to the former, you will please to consider, in revising the act, whether that intention be in fact answered with respect to some of them. I would particularly instance in the manufacture of loaf sugar, which, at a time when we were under the dominion of Great Britain, was for a while very profitably carried

on here ; but by the British Parliament giving a large bounty on the exportation of it from thence, and this with a view of putting a stop to our manufacturing it, it was imported here so cheap, as effectually to answer that purpose. The bounty, as I am informed, being still continued, the duties on each of these manufactures, and on foreign in general, should be so regulated, as to give a decided preference in favor of our own ; and a like attention should be also had in reference to all our manufactures."

In a message of February 8, 1786, he calls upon the Legislature to do something for the encouragement of the manufacture of iron :

"Mr. John Noyes, (says he,) who has lately returned hither from Europe, was with me a few days ago, and acquainted me, that while there, he employed the greatest part of his time in endeavoring to inform himself in several branches of manufacture in iron ; that he had gained a thorough knowledge of those branches ; and that if he and his partner, Colonel Revere, could obtain sufficient encouragement from the Legislature, they would erect works for carrying them on to some considerable extent:—that he had, also, a perfect knowledge of the machines used in Europe in manufacturing iron and steel, and was well informed in the construction and use of the new-invented steam engine, very necessary in those operations, and which may be advantageously employed in many others.

"In consequence of this conversation, I yesterday received a letter from them to the same purpose, which, with a letter to me from the Hon. Mr. Adams, our Minister in London, recommending Mr. Noyes

and his project of introducing some new manufactures, will be communicated to you.

“Circumstanced as we are at present, it is highly necessary we should encourage every useful and practicable manufacture, especially that of iron, which, in point of usefulness and practicability, may vie with any.

“As this manufacture, connected with the proposed improvements upon it, may be extensively beneficial to the Commonwealth, I do with great earnestness recommend the proposal for its establishment to your favorable consideration.”

In another of his messages, (21st Feb. 1786,) he calls the attention of the Legislature to the importance of doing something for the wool growers and the woollen manufacturers of the State :

“The extravagant importation of foreign manufactures, (says he,) since the conclusion of the war, has greatly injured our own, particularly those in wool.

“The quantity of woollens imported, their superior fabric, and the cheapness of them, have not only in a great measure put a stop to our looms, and to the several other modes of manufacturing our wool, but have thereby been a principal cause of the decrease of sheep in this Commonwealth. This decrease, as we are now necessitated to manufacture for ourselves, is universally felt and regretted ; and it has become necessary to apply some remedy to this evil, which for several years has been a growing one. You will therefore, allow me, gentlemen, to recommend to you, to apply some effectual remedy accordingly ; and at the same time to project some method, by which we

may obtain models of several machines, or the machines themselves, lately invented for manufacturing woollen cloths, by the use of which there would be a saving of much labor and expense, and the cloth would be manufactured in a superior manner."

In still another message of the same date, he says, "As the encouragement of every useful manufacture in the Commonwealth has now become necessary, it is my duty to mention to you a very important one, — so important to us as a free and independent people, that our existence as such may depend on the establishing it among ourselves; I mean the manufacture of *gun-powder*."

It is not for me, on this occasion, to discuss the value of what has been called "the American System." Nor would I, at any time, disturb the laurels of those among the living, to whom its paternity has been ascribed. But if any one of later years is privileged to wear the title of the father of this system, I think I may safely assert, upon the evidence which I have now furnished, the unquestionable claim of Governor Bowdoin to be remembered as its *grandfather*.

Certainly, if any one desires to know for what object the revisal of the old articles of confederation was demanded by at least one of its earliest and most prominent advocates in New England; if any one desires to understand what was the original Massachusetts meaning of the constitutional phrase "Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations;" he may read it in language which cannot be mistaken, in these messages of Governor Bowdoin.

There was something, however, of ominous signifi-

cance in his call upon the Legislature at this moment to encourage the manufacture of *gunpowder*. The day was rapidly approaching, when Massachusetts was about to require a supply of that article for the first time, and, I pray God, for the last time, in her history as an independent Commonwealth, for the most deplorable of all occasions.

Bowdoin was re-elected to the Chief Magistracy, in April, 1786, by a very large majority of the popular votes, when he again, in his opening address, pressed upon the Legislature the paramount importance of making provision for sustaining the public credit. Already, however, the discontents at the heavy burden of taxation had swollen to a formidable height; and, before the close of the year, they had broken out into an open insurrection against the legal processes of collection. The courts of justice were systematically interrupted in their sessions, and the insurgents were led along from step to step, until they found themselves arrayed in arms against the constituted authorities of the State.

The exigency was, indeed, a momentous one. For the first time, and while the cement by which it was held together was still green and unhardened, the fabric of our free institutions was to be put to the test of a forcible assault. The public Credit, the Independence of the Judiciary, the Authority of the Executive, the Supremacy of the Laws, the Capacity of the People for Self-government, — all, all were at stake. Had “Shays’ Rebellion,” as it is called, been triumphant, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the danger in which our whole American Republican

system would have been involved. Had an example of successful repudiation at once of debt, of law, and of all government, been given at so early a day after our independence, and in so leading a Commonwealth as Massachusetts, no one can tell into what volcanic vortex our whole continent would have been plunged, or how far we should have escaped the fate of the Spanish Colonies at the South, in being the subject of one unceasing series of political convulsions and revolutions.

Every where the faces of the friends of freedom gathered blackness at the prospect. Even Washington could scarcely hold fast to the great principle which had never before failed him, not to despair of the Republic. In a letter to James Madison, of Nov. 6, 1786, he says: "No morn ever dawned more favorably than ours did; and no day was ever more clouded than the present. * * * Without an alteration in our political creed, the superstructure we have been seven years in raising, at the expense of so much treasure and blood, must fall. We are fast verging to anarchy and confusion.

"A letter which I have received from General Knox, who had just returned from Massachusetts, whither he had been sent by Congress in consequence of the commotions in that State, is replete with melancholy accounts of the temper and designs of a considerable part of the people. Among other things he says: 'Their creed is, that the property of the United States has been protected from the confiscation of Britain by the joint exertions of *all*, and therefore ought to be *the common property of all*; and he that

attempts opposition to this creed, is an enemy to equity and justice, and ought to be swept off from the face of the earth.' Again, 'they are determined to annihilate all debts, public and private, and have agrarian laws, which are easily effected by the means of unfunded paper money, which shall be a tender in all cases whatever.' * * * * How melancholy is the reflection, that in so short a time we should have made such large strides towards fulfilling the predictions of our transatlantic foes! — 'Leave them to themselves, and their government will soon dissolve.' Will not the wise and good strive hard to avert this evil? Or will their supineness suffer ignorance, and the arts of self-interested, designing, disaffected, and desperate characters, to involve this great country in wretchedness and contempt?"

"It is with the deepest and most heartfelt concern, (writes Washington soon after to General Humphreys,) that I perceive by some late paragraphs extracted from the Boston papers, that the insurgents of Massachusetts, far from being satisfied with the redress offered by their General Court, are still acting in open violation of law and government, and have obliged the Chief Magistrate, in a decided tone, to call upon the militia of the State to support the Constitution. What, gracious God! is man, that there should be such inconsistency and perfidiousness in his conduct? It was but the other day, that we were shedding our blood to obtain the Constitutions under which we now live, — Constitutions of our own choice and making, — and now we are unsheathing the sword to overturn them. The thing is so unaccountable, that I hardly know

how to realize it, or to persuade myself that I am not under the illusion of a dream."

I might cite a hundred other evidences of the alarm which this rebellion in Massachusetts excited throughout the Union. '*Proximus ardet Ucalegon.*' No one knew whose house would catch next, or how soon the whole nation might be involved in the flames of civil war. It was regarded, like the late rising of the Communists and Red Republicans of Paris, as menacing the very existence of the system against which it was aimed, and as threatening the whole experiment of free government with explosion and failure.

"These combinations, (says Judge Lowell,) were extensive and formidable, and perhaps there was a time in which it was uncertain, whether even a majority of the people were not at least in a disposition not to *oppose* the progress of insurgency." Well did he add, that "Bowdoin was at this time in a situation to try the fortitude and resources of any man."

Among other difficulties with which he had to contend, was that of an empty treasury and a prostrate credit. I have myself heard the late venerable Jacob Kuhn say, that having occasion to buy fuel for the winter session of the Legislature in 1786, and there being no money in hand to pay the bills, he could find no one who would furnish it on the credit of the Commonwealth, and he was obliged to pledge his own personal responsibility for the amount! The credit of this humble but honest and patriotic Messenger of the General Court was thus better than that of the Commonwealth itself! But an appeal was made,

where it has never been made in vain, to the merchants and other men of property of Boston, and was seconded by the liberal example of Bowdoin himself, and funds enough were speedily raised, by voluntary subscription, for carrying on the measures of defence, which had now become necessary for the safety of the State. A special session of the Legislature was convened; the militia in all parts of the Commonwealth were called on to hold themselves in readiness for service, and many of them summoned at once into the field; and after a few months of vigilant and vigorous exercise of the whole civil and military power which the Constitution and the laws intrusted to him, Bowdoin had the unspeakable happiness to find Order again established, Peace restored, and Liberty and Law triumphantly reconciled.

He had excellent counsellors about him, and gallant officers under him, in this emergency; and he knew how to employ them and trust them. The brave and admirable Benjamin Lincoln, to whom the chief command was assigned, and who, in conducting the principal expedition against the insurgents, gathered fresh laurels for a brow already thickly bound with the victorious wreaths of the Revolution; the gallant John Brooks, afterwards the distinguished and popular governor of the State; the chivalrous Cobb, who, being at once chief justice of the Bristol courts and commander of the Bristol militia, declared he "would sit as a judge, or die as a general;" the prudent yet fearless Shepard; these, and many more whom the accomplished Minot, in his history of the rebellion, has sufficiently designated, rendered services on the

occasion which will never be forgotten. But nobody has ever doubted that, to the lofty principle, the calm prudence, the wise discretion, and the indomitable firmness of Bowdoin, the result was primarily due, and that his name is entitled to go down in the history of the country, as pre-eminently the leader in that first great vindication of Law and Order within the limits of our American Republic.

In the course which he was obliged to pursue, however, for this end, cause of offence could hardly fail of being given to large masses of the people. An idea, too, extensively prevailed, that Bowdoin would be sterner than another in enforcing the punishment of the guilty parties, and stricter than another in exacting the payment of the taxes still due. During the latter part of the year, too, the Legislature had passed a bill reducing the governor's salary; and Bowdoin, holding this measure to be inconsistent at once with the true spirit and with the express letter of the Constitution, had not scrupled to veto it. He clearly foresaw that this act would conspire with other circumstances in preventing his re-election to the executive chair. He resolved, however, not to shrink from the canvass, nobly declaring, that "his inclination would lead him to retirement, but if it should be thought he could be further serviceable to the Commonwealth, he would not desert it." *Defendi rempublicam adolescens; non deseram senex.*

His predictions were realized, and at the next election, Hancock, having accepted a nomination in opposition to him, was again chosen Governor of Massachusetts. It would have been an ample com-

pensation for any degree of mortification which Bowdoin could have felt at this defeat, could he have known, as he doubtless did before his death, and as is well understood now, that the ratification of the Federal Constitution by the Convention of Massachusetts was unquestionably brought about by this concession on the part of his political friends to the demands of their opponents. He would have counted no sacrifice of himself too great to accomplish such a result.

But Bowdoin was to be permitted to aid in the accomplishment of that result in a more direct and agreeable manner. Once more, and for the last time, he was to be employed in the service of the Commonwealth and the country. A Constitution, embodying the great principle of *the Regulation of Trade by a General Union*, was at length framed by the National Convention at Philadelphia, and submitted to the adoption of the people. The Massachusetts Convention assembled to consider it in January, 1788. Bowdoin was a delegate from Boston, and had the satisfaction of finding his son by his side, as a delegate from Dorchester. Both gave their ardent and unhesitating support to the new instrument of government, and both made formal speeches in its favor.

The elder Bowdoin concluded his remarks with a sentiment, which will still strike a chord in every true American heart : —

“ If the Constitution should be finally accepted and established, it will complete the temple of American liberty, and, like the keystone of a grand and magnificent arch, be the bond of union to keep all the parts firm and compacted together. May this temple, sacred

to liberty and virtue, — sacred to justice, the first and greatest political virtue, — and built upon the broad and solid foundation of perfect union, — be dissoluble only by the dissolution of nature! and may this Convention have the distinguished honor of erecting one of its pillars on that lasting foundation!”

It was Bowdoin's happiness to live to see this wish accomplished, to see the Federal Constitution adopted and the Government organized under it, and to welcome beneath his own roof his illustrious friend, General Washington, on his visit to Boston in 1789, as the First President of the United States.

He was now, however, a private citizen, and had transferred his attention again to those philosophical pursuits, which had engaged him in his earliest manhood. Indeed, his interest in literature and science had never been suspended. A little volume of verses, published anonymously by him in 1759, proves that poetry as well as philosophy was an object of his youthful homage. He was long connected with the Government of Harvard College, and always manifested the most earnest devotion to her welfare. In 1780, he was foremost among the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was their President from their first organization to his death. To the transactions of the Academy he contributed several elaborate Memoirs, in regard to which I borrow the language of the accomplished Lowell, who, at the request of the Academy, pronounced the eulogy from which I have already repeatedly quoted, and who, undoubtedly, gave utterance to the judgment of his learned associates.

“The first, (says he,) was an ingenious and perspicuous vindication of Sir Isaac Newton’s Theory of Light from objections which Dr. Franklin had raised. The two others were also on the subject of Light; and an attempt to account for the manner in which the waste of matter in the sun and fixed stars, by the constant efflux of light from them, is repaired.

“These Memoirs (he adds) afford conclusive evidence that Mr. Bowdoin was deeply conversant in the principles of natural philosophy; and though the latter memoir suggests a theory which may be liable to some objections, yet the novelty of it and the ingenious manner in which he has considered it, discovers an inquisitive mind, and a boldness of ideas beyond those, who, though learned in the knowledge of others, are too feeble to venture on new and unexplored paths of science.”

The correspondence between Bowdoin and Franklin on questions of science was now renewed, and it will be interesting, I am sure, to follow them once more, for a single moment, in some of the speculations of their closing years. “Our ancient correspondence (says Franklin, in a letter dated 31st May, 1788) used to have something philosophical in it. As you are now free from public cares, and I expect to be so in a few months, why may we not resume that kind of correspondence?” And he then proceeds to suggest some fifteen or twenty questions, relating to magnetism and the theory of the earth, for their mutual consideration and discussion. Among others, he inquires, “May not a magnetic power exist throughout our system, perhaps through all systems, so that if a man

could make a voyage in the starry regions, a compass might be of use ? ”

Bowdoin, in his reply of June 28, 1788, after expressing his doubt whether Franklin would even yet be spared from the public service, proceeds to say, — “ If, however, you choose to recede from politics, it will be a happy circumstance in a philosophical view, as we may expect many advantages to be derived from it to science. I have read, (says he,) and repeatedly read, your ingenious queries concerning the cause of the earth’s magnetism and polarity, and those relating to the theory of the earth. By the former, you seem to suppose that a similar magnetism and polarity may take place, not only throughout the whole solar system, but all other systems, so that a compass might be useful, if a voyage in the starry regions were practicable. I thank you for this noble and highly pleasurable suggestion, and have already enjoyed it. I have pleased myself with the idea that, when we drop this heavy, earth-attracted body, we shall assume an ethereal one ; and, in some vehicle proper for the purpose, perform voyages from planet to planet, with the utmost ease and expedition, and with much less uncertainty than voyages are performed on our ocean from port to port. I shall be very happy in making such excursions with you, when we shall be better qualified to investigate causes, by discerning with more clearness and precision their effects. In the mean time, my dear friend, until that happy period arrives, I hope your attention to the subject of your queries will be productive of discoveries useful and important, such as will entitle you to a higher compliment than was paid to Newton by Pope,

in the character of his Superior Beings ; with this difference, however, that it be paid by those Beings themselves."

Little dreamed these veteran philosophers and friends, how soon the truth of their pleasant theories was to be tested, and how almost simultaneously they were indeed about to enter upon an excursion to the stars ! On the 17th of April, 1790, Franklin died, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. On the 6th of November, of the same year, at the earlier age of sixty-four years, borne down by the pressure of severe disease, Bowdoin followed him to the grave.

The death of Bowdoin was in admirable keeping with his life. "Inspired by religion, (says the obituary of the time,) and upheld by the Father of Mercies, he endured a most painful sickness with the greatest firmness and patience, and received the stroke of death with a calmness, a resignation, and composure, that marked the truly great and good man."

He had not contented himself with a life of unstained purity and unstinted benevolence ; nor had he postponed the more serious preparations for death to the scanty and precarious opportunities of a last illness. He had embraced the religion of the Gospel at an early period of his life, upon studious examination and serious conviction. If his philosophic mind ever entertained doubts, he strove, and strove successfully, to remove them. He has left it upon record, that "Butler's Analogy" was of the greatest service to him in satisfying his mind as to the truths of Christianity. "From the time of my reading that book, (said he,) I have been an humble follower of the blessed Jesus ;"

and, as the moment of his dissolution drew nigh, he expressed his perfect satisfaction and confidence that he was "going to the full enjoyment of God and his Redeemer."

Rarely has the end of a public man in New England been marked by evidences of a deeper or more general regret. "Great and respectable (we are told) was the concourse which attended his funeral; every species of occupation was suspended; all ranks and orders of men, the clergy and the laity, the magistrate and the citizen, men of leisure and men of business, testified their affection and respect by joining in the solemn procession; and crowds of spectators lined the streets through which it passed, whilst an uncommon silence and order every where marked the deepness of their sorrow."

Such were the becoming tokens of public respect for the memory of one who had devoted no less than thirty-six years of his life to the service of his Commonwealth and his Country; who had sustained himself in the highest offices of trust and responsibility, and in the greatest emergencies of difficulty and danger, without fear and without reproach; and of whom it is not too much to say, that he had exhibited himself always the very personification of that just and resolute man of the Roman poet, whom neither the mandates of a foreign tyrant, nor the menaces of domestic rebels, could shake from his established principles.

"Justum, et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ."

I can find no other words for summing up his character, than the admirable sentence of Judge Lowell :

“ It may be said that our country has produced many men of as much genius ; many men of as much learning and knowledge ; many of as much zeal for the liberties of their country ; and many of as great piety and virtue ; but is it not rare indeed, to find those in whom they have all combined, and been adorned, with his other accomplishments ? ”

Governor Bowdoin was early married to Elizabeth Erving, a lady of most respectable family and of most estimable qualities, who, with their two children, survived him.

Of his only son, James Bowdoin, I need say nothing in this presence and on this spot. He was known elsewhere as a gentleman of liberal education and large fortune, repeatedly a member of both branches of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and who received from Mr. Jefferson the appointments successively of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Spain, and Associate Special Minister with General Armstrong to the Court of France. He is known *here* by other and more enduring memorials. He died without children ; but it was only to give new attestation to that quaint conceit of Lord Bacon's,—“ Surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men ; who have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed : so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity.”

With him the name of Bowdoin, by direct descent in the male line, passed away from the annals of New

England ; but, even had there been no collaterals and kinsfolk worthy to wear, and proud to adopt and perpetuate it, the day, the place, the circumstances of this occasion, afford ample evidence that it has been inscribed where it will not be forgotten. When Anaxagoras of Clazomene was asked by the Senate of Lampsacus how they should commemorate his services, he replied, "By ordaining that the day of my death be annually kept as a holiday in all the schools of Lampsacus." And, certainly, if any man may be said to have taken a bond against oblivion, it is he whose name is worthily associated with a great institution of education. Who shall undertake to assign limits to the duration of the memories of Harvard, and Yale, and Bowdoin, and the rest, as long as another, and still another generation of young men shall continue to come up to the seats of learning which they have founded, and to go forth again into the world with a grateful sense of their inestimable advantages ? The hero, the statesman, the martyr, may be forgotten ; but the name of the Founder of a College is written where it shall be remembered and repeated to the last syllable of recorded time. *Semper — Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt !*

And may I not add, Mr. President and Gentlemen, in conclusion, that the name of Bowdoin is intrinsically worthy to be held in such perpetual remembrance ? Do not the facts which I have thus imperfectly set before you, justify me in saying, without the fear of being reproached with even a not unnatural partiality, that there are few names in our country's history, which will better bear being held

up before the young men of New England, as the distinguishing designation of their Alma Mater ?

The mere money which endows a school or a college, is not the only or the highest contribution to the cause of education or improvement. It may have been acquired by dishonorable trade or accursed traffic. It may have been amassed by sordid hoardings, or wrung from oppressed dependents. It may carry with it to the minds of those for whom it provides, the pernicious idea, that a pecuniary bequest may purchase oblivion for a life of injustice and avarice, or secure for the vile and the infamous that ever fresh and fragrant renown, which belongs to the memory of the just.

The noblest contribution which any man can make for the benefit of posterity is that of a good character. The richest bequest which any man can leave to the youth of his native land, is that of a shining, spotless example.

Let not, then, the ingenuous and pure-hearted young men, who are gathered within these walls, imagine that it is only on account of the munificence of the younger Bowdoin, that I would claim for the name their respect and reverence. Let them examine the history of that name through four successive generations ; let them follow it from the landing at Casco to the endowment of the College ; let them consider the religious constancy of the humble Huguenot, who sought freedom of conscience on the shores of yonder bay ; let them remember the diligence, enterprise, and honesty of the Boston merchant ; let them recall the zeal for science, the devotion to liberty, the love for his country, its constitution and its union, — the firmness,

the purity, the piety of the Massachusetts patriot ; and let them add to these the many estimable qualities which adorned the character of their more immediate benefactor, and they will agree with me, and you, gentlemen, will agree with them, that it would be difficult to find a name which, within the same period of time, has furnished a nobler succession of examples for their admiration and imitation ! And neither of you, I am sure, will regret the hour, which has now been spent, in once more brushing off the dust and mould which had begun to gather and thicken upon memories, which, in these halls at least, will never be permitted to perish !



APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN FAVOR OF A CONVENTION TO REVISE THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

[See page 43.]

*Resolve, recommending a Convention of Delegates from all the States,
for the purpose mentioned, July 1, 1785.*

As the prosperity and happiness of a nation cannot be secured without a due proportion of power lodged in the hands of the Supreme Rulers of the State, the present embarrassed situation of our public affairs, must lead the mind of the most inattentive observer to realize the necessity of a revision of the powers vested in the Congress of the United States, by the articles of confederation.

And as we conceive it to be equally the duty and the privilege of every State in the Union, freely to communicate their sentiments to the rest on every subject relating to their common interest, and to solicit their concurrence in such measures as the exigency of their public affairs may require :

Therefore, Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Court, that the present powers of the Congress of the United States, as contained in the Articles of Confederation, are not fully adequate to the great purposes they were originally designed to effect.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Court, that it is highly expedient, if not indispensably necessary, that there should be a

convention of delegates from all the States in the Union, at some convenient place, as soon as may be, for the sole purpose of revising the Confederation, and reporting to Congress how far it may be necessary to alter or enlarge the same.

Resolved, That Congress be, and they are hereby requested to recommend a Convention of Delegates from all the States, at such time and place as they may think convenient, to revise the Confederation, and report to Congress how far it may be necessary, in their opinion, to alter or enlarge the same, in order to secure and perpetuate the primary objects of the Union.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

SIR — Impressed with the importance and necessity of revising the powers of the United States in Congress assembled, the General Court of the Massachusetts have taken the subject under their serious consideration, and have adopted the inclosed resolutions, which you are requested to communicate. Should the nature and importance of the subject appear to Congress in the same point of light that it does to this Court, they flatter themselves, that Congress will so far endeavor to carry their views into effect, as to recommend a Convention of the States, at some convenient place, on an early day, that the evils so severely experienced from the want of adequate powers in the Federal Government, may find a remedy as soon as possible.

As a perfect harmony among the States is an object no less important than desirable, the Legislature of the Massachusetts have aimed at that unassuming openness of conduct, and respectful attention to the rights of every State in the Union, as they doubt not will secure their confidence, and meet the approbation of Congress.

A circular letter to the States is herewith transmitted to Congress, which they are requested to forward, with their recommendation for a Convention of Delegates from the States, if they should

so far concur in sentiment with the Court, as to deem such a recommendation advisable.

TO THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF EACH STATE.

The unequal footing on which we find ourselves placed by all the powers with whom we have any commercial intercourse, has produced consequences too extensive not to be universally felt, and too important to be longer neglected.

As commerce, and our national credit and importance, must decline, unless our Representatives in Congress are vested with more efficient powers, we cannot doubt of your ready concurrence in measures necessary to accomplish so important a purpose.

We have, by a Resolve of this day, made application to the United States in Congress assembled, for such recommendation to the several States, as shall be thought most conducive to the purposes aforesaid, a copy of which Resolve, with the letter inclosing it, addressed to the President of Congress, is herewith transmitted you. Should you be in sentiment with us, that the measures proposed are the proper expedients to relieve us from the national embarrassments we labor under, you are requested to signify your approbation of them to Congress, as early as possible.

TO THE DELEGATES OF THIS STATE IN CONGRESS.

GENTLEMEN — You have herewith transmitted you, copies of a Resolve of the General Court, accompanied by a letter to the President of Congress, and a Circular Letter to the States, upon business of the greatest importance to this, as well as every State in the Union, as you will readily perceive by a perusal of them.

You are therefore directed to take the earliest opportunity of laying them before Congress, and making every exertion in your power to carry the object of them into effect, and to give notice to the Governor as early as possible of the success of such application.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be, and he is hereby requested, in behalf of the Legislature, to sign the foregoing letter to the President of Congress, the Supreme Executive of the several States, and to the Delegates of this Commonwealth in Congress, and to forward them accordingly.





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